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ABSTRACT

Educational policy research has yet to account for the movement and manifestations of federal and state policies in local school districts. In an effort to describe and explain major consequences of policy, this study examines the policy ingression process (the movement of policy in the form of statute and regulation from the district superintendent's desk to the teachers' classrooms). Using a case study approach, the path of policy is backward mapped from staff development activities undertaken in response to specific policy initiatives. This process reveals how policy flows, becomes manifest, and ultimately influences classroom practices. Two pages of references are included. (Author/TE)

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A CASE STUDY OF POLICY-INDUCED STAFF DEVELOPMENT IN A LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICT

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PRECIS

Educational policy research has yet to account for the movement and manifestations of federal and state policies in local school districts. In an effort to describe and explain major consequences of policy, this study examines the policy ingression process (the movement of policy in the form of statute and regulation, from the district superintendent's desk to the teachers' classrooms). Using a case study approach, the path of policy is backward mapped from staff development activities undertaken in response to specific policy initiatives. Backward mapping from policy-induced staff development reveals how policy flows, becomes manifest, and ultimately influences classroom practices.

INTRODUCTION

Interest in policy analysis by and large has been directed to policy effects. A certain bent of human curiosity tends to rivet us on the impact of things. Captured by policy impact, studies often overlook the policy trajectory. However, how and where policy travels as it passes through a system may be as significant as what results from it. But unlike missiles, the trajectories of policies are not easily traced. Policies do not emit sonic booms or white contrails for the convenience of those interested in plotting their paths. Besides, the nature of most organizational systems is such that policies, initiated to bring about some change, quickly become absorbed, transformed, and integrated in diverse, complex and unpredictable ways (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973).

Nevertheless, policies do become manifest in practices and, thus, their absorption, transformation, and integration into organizational systems should be amenable to investigation. If there were a way of conceptualizing the policy path and tracing policy manifestations enroute in an organizational system, our understanding of the evolvement of policy effects as well as where policy goes and what becomes of it would be enlarged.

The problem stated here in a general manner is the problem addressed by the following study. Since the nineteen sixties, the educational system in the United States has received increasing attention from policy makers at the federal and state levels of government. This trend shows no signs of abating in the near future. It is generally agreed that major

educational policy initiatives have enormous consequences for programs, practices, and personnel at the local school level. During the last decade, policy analysts have studied these consequences intensively, revealing both their beneficial and harmful aspects. Though progress has been made in identifying the effects of policy initiatives, little is known about why policy pressures have the consequences they do.

The lack of knowledge may be due in part to the fact that no study known to me has attempted to conceptualize the path of policy or trace the manifestations of policy as it evolves through educational organizations. In order to try to fill this gap, the study presented here was designed to examine in detail the movement of educational policy as it becomes manifest in a local school district. The movement of policy in the form of mandate, regulation, or procedure from the district superintendent's desk to the teachers' classrooms is hereafter referred to as the "policy ingression process." The study was undertaken in the belief that an investigation of policy ingression will add to our knowledge about how schools respond to federal and state policy initiatives.

Background of the Study

This study is about where policy goes and what becomes of it in a school district. It is reasoned that the real meaning of what happens in a school organization is to be found in what those that work there do and think. It follows that how policy moves and becomes manifest are determined by the actions and interactions of school personnel responding to policy. The investigation was designed, then, to recreate the actions occasioned by the appearance of policy and to analyze why these particular actions were taken.

This way of looking at policy is not typically found in other policy studies. Past research has attempted to explain the effects of policy in educational settings. Attention has been focused on how policy is formulated (e.g. Grum, 1975; May and Wildavsky, 1978; Rich, 1981) and how policy is implemented (e.g. Berman and McLaughlin, 1978; Desantis and Cohen, 1983; House, 1974). Neither of these two groups of research attends to how policy makes its appearance at the school district and site levels. Nor do they examine what school personnel actually do with policy as they are called upon to incorporate legislated change initiatives in school life.

However, past research has led to characterizations of the policy-school relationship. These characterizations cast policy initiatives as intrusive to schools (Katz, 1971). School activities are described as becoming highly regulated by policy-making agencies (Wise, 1979). And school response to policy is seen as becoming increasingly recalcitrant. Atkin and House (1981) refer to the interaction between policy-making authorities and local schools as "something of a game with the federals trying to inculcate behavior consistent with federal policy and the locals performing ritually in order to obtain the money and pursue their own objectives (p. 21). Schon (1981) concludes that in this game "the locals are always able to foil or transform central's initiatives" (p. 59). In their four year study, Berman and McLaughlin (1978) found that local concerns inevitably "overshadowed" and "overwhelmed" federal strategies.

These prior characterizations leave one with the impression that policy is disruptive to school life. Yet the authors do not provide a picture of just how policy results in destablizing schools, if in fact it does. A number of questions are left open by past policy studies. Do school personnel take policy seriously? Are all school personnel affected by policy initiatives? Have classroom practices changed as a result of policies? These and other questions are left to speculation. This study attempted to focus these wide ranging questions into an investigation of where policy goes and what becomes of it in one school district.

Description of the Study

The ingression perspective adopted for this study stems from observations of various epiphenomena associated with policy initiatives but not accounted for by any express policy intent. The creation of many new staff positions, the extensive differentiation of school staff, and the organization of teacher groups by expertise in structurally vertical arrangements are examples. They underscore the contention held within the policy research community that policy initiatives are inevitably transformed as they traverse the local school system. Thus, objectives for the study were formulated based on an interest in achieving an inside view of how such epiphenomena become a part of regular school activities.

The major objectives developed for the study are:

- To determine what form policy manifestations take at the school district level.
- To identify the actors and circumstances that shape policy manifestations.

- To explain how significant actors and pertinent circumstances filter and transform policy initiatives.
- To ascertain the effects of policy on school personnel, particularly classroom teachers.

The Focus of the Study

To investigate the ingression process the study focused on a particular response to policy initiatives: the implementation of staff development programs. Only staff development activities that constitute specific responses to state or federal law were considered. These policy-induced activities provide a concrete set of actions that are analyzed backward to the initial point of policy ingression. It was Elmore's suggestion that policy planning begin with the most concrete set of actions taken by school personnel at "the service delivery level" (Elmore, 1981, p. 29) that led to a recognition of the ideal opportunity staff development activities provide as a categorically definable focus for inquiry. In addition, Weick (1978), in his article on the nature of organizational couplings in educational institutions, poses the challenge of descriptively mapping the patterns of structural junctures within school systems as a major issue for research.

Backward mapping makes it possible to recreate the path of policy from its penultimate manifestation as staff development back through the decision junctures that lead to implementation. The map of this path is then analyzed to determine where and how policy is transformed as it passes through the organizational structure and hierarchically situated personnel of a school district.

Policy-induced staff development possesses a number of advantages as a focus of inquiry. Staff development represents one specific form of

response on the part of school personnel to policies formulated at the federal and state level. Staff development is a definable activity involving administrative decisions. It is adopted for some express purpose and designed for some particular group of personnel. Initiating, planning, and providing staff development activities involves personnel in a variety of capacities at all levels of the school district. By focusing on staff development, features of the organizational structure and the significance of particular personnel roles are revealed in the interplay between policy and school practice. Furthermore, the staff development focus offers the advantage of investigating the school's implementation process in an indirect manner. Rather than raising what may be viewed as evaluative questions about how policies are implemented by school personnel, the inquiry concentrates upon how staff development activities originated in response to policy as well as how and why they are planned and provided.

The Assumptions of the Study

The assumptions that underlie the conceptualization and research focus of this study are best summarized in the following manner.

- Policy manifestations within a local school district can be identified and described.
- Knowledge about the manifestations of policy can be gained as a result of tracing and describing a policy-induced phenomenon.
- Staff development undertaken in response to policy provides a feasible and sufficiently concrete phenomenon through which to investigate policy manifestations in schools.
- Policy manifestations are entities amenable to description and analysis independent of the relative success or failure of policy implementation.

The Case Study Site

This study was conducted in an moderate sized (approximately 16,000 students) suburban school district in the Southeastern United States. The school district has a history of strong commitment to and involvement in staff development, dating back to the early 1970's. Major staff development programs have been undertaken in the areas of career, special, and gifted education in response to federal and state legislation. These staff development programs were selected for special attention in the case study site.

Data Collection and Analysis

The methods of data collection and analysis are designed to produce a descriptive map of the path of policy ingression in one school district. A case study approach intentionally fixed the investigation on the immediate life of the school district and the interactions of school personnel. Data collection and analysis borrow heavily from the ethnographic techniques developed by Spradley (1979, 1980). The techniques known as domain and taxonomic analysis are well suited to identify the component parts of a contextual phenomenon and to discover the relationships, patterns, and regularities of these parts, often taken for granted by the participants in a setting (Spradley, 1979). As descriptions were developed and relationships, patterns, and regularities were perceived, preliminary explanatory propositions were tentatively set forth. These propositions often suggested new directions for exploration and the need for more and sometimes different types of data. The data collected as a result of these preliminary propositions were used to test prior descriptions and to guide emerging conceptualizations and explanations.

These data-gathering procedures were used for the study:

1. Firsthand observations were made of fourteen staff development activities as well as other policy related events such as planning and special committee meetings (a total of 78 hours of observation was logged). Narrative descriptions of the staff development activities and meetings were developed. Of particular interest during the observations were the spaces and objects used, participant roles, content, and manifest and latent purposes.
2. A review was made of relevant district documents including federal and state policy announcements, district policy manuals, guidelines, schedules, job descriptions, memos, school board minutes, and procedural forms.
3. Semi-structured, open-ended interviews by appointment were conducted with 67 school district personnel. The interviews were auditaped and subsequently transcribed. Over 75 other school personnel were interviewed less formally. Every effort was made to assure that those interviewed represented the widest range of perceptions regarding staff development and the widest range of staff development participant roles.

The design of the study dictated that the investigation begin with actual staff development activities undertaken in response to federal and state educational policies. The initial interviews were conducted with participants of the first staff development activities observed. On the basis of information ascertained from these interviews, the investigation expanded to other activities and actors identified by those interviewed. For instance, staff development participants were asked, among other

things, what led to their participation in the activity observed and who was responsible for their being there.

A loosely structured guide in the form of a check list was used to focus the interviews, though they remained deliberately flexible to allow in-depth probing and the expansion of topics. The check list, shown below, assured a consistency among the interviews conducted.

Role Orientation - perception of role:

Sample Question: How would you describe your role in the position you hold?

Responsibilities/Tasks - perception of job responsibilities and tasks

Sample Question: 1) What are you responsible for in the upcoming staff development activity? 2) what are the actual actions taken by you?

Decisions - Specific decisions made.

Sample Question: What decisions did you make concerning the upcoming staff development activity?

Intents/Purposes - Declarations of general and particular motivations leading to decisions made and action taken.

Sample Question: What was your intent in making such a decision or performing such a task? What do you consider to be the purpose for such a decision or task?

Expectations - Expectations held for general and particular decisions made and actions take.

Sample Question: What did you think would come to pass as a result of this decision (or task performed)?

Information Exchange - Recounting instances where information was lacking for respondent, or in which information was requested or supplied by respondent.

Sample Question: What information have you sought? To what source did you turn to obtain the needed information? In what form was the needed information communicated to you?

A framework was developed for organizing the data collected (Figure 1). All data collected were coded according to the categories incorporated in the organizing framework. The categories were drawn from the literature dealing with policy analysis, organizational change, and staff development. The importance of the roles focal actors play in the maintenance and execution of policy within organizations is stressed by Bauer and Gergen (1968), Orland and Goettel (1982) and Baldridge and Deal (1983). A scheme for identifying and categorizing focal actors exerting an influence on staff development activities is provided by Fenstermacher and Berliner (1983).

The data collected was organized in a way that permitted the use of techniques known as domain and taxonomic analysis. A domain analysis identifies knowledge about a setting or phenomenon from the perspective of the actors intimately involved in that setting (Spradley, 1979). It provides a way to display and analyze information about general phenomena evident in any social setting, e.g. spaces allocated, objects used, the actors involved, and activities that take place. It represents the common system of symbols around which the life of a setting is imbued with meaning by its actors. With the aid of a matrix, all the information gathered for all the categories of interest is summarized. This study sought to

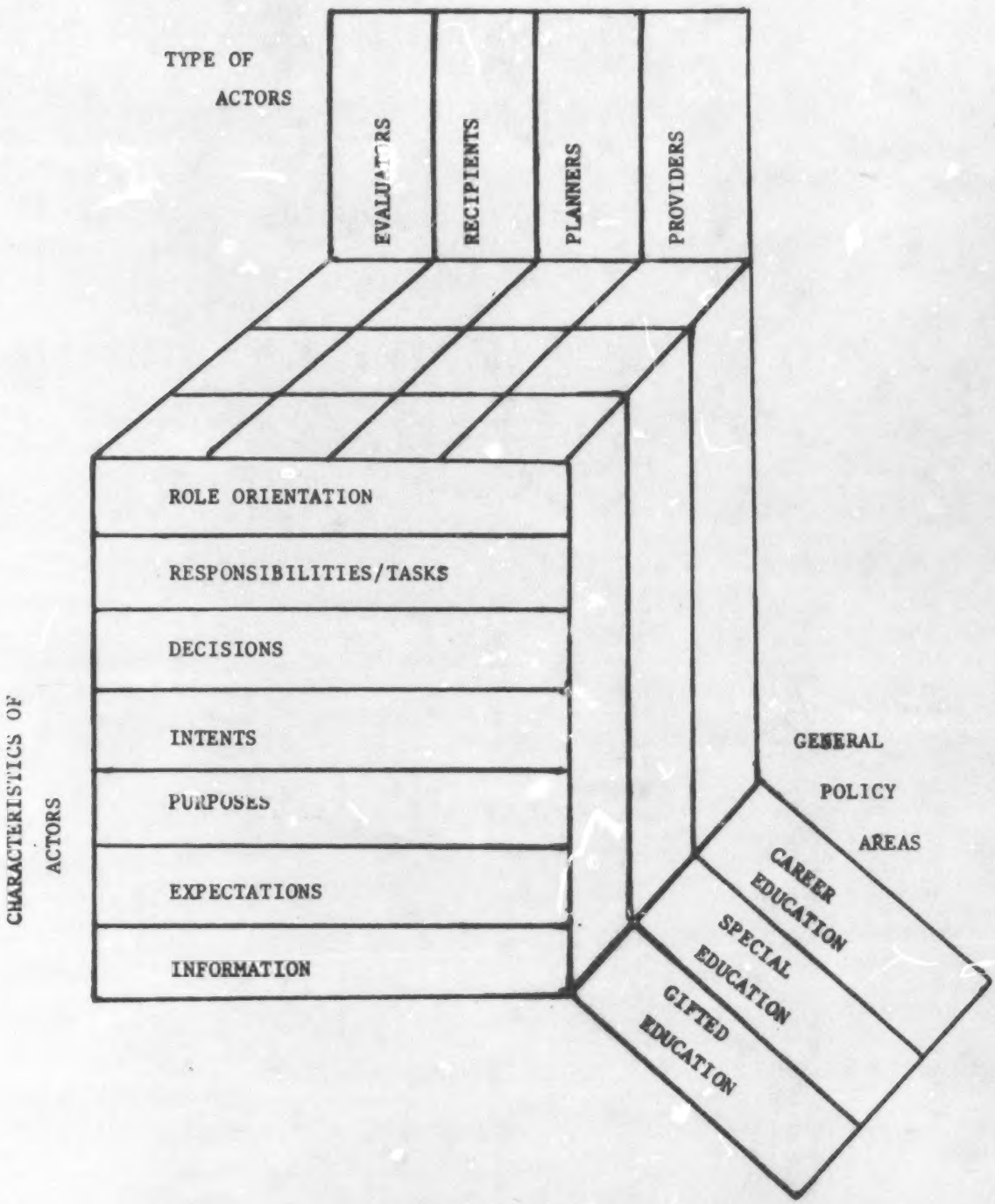

Figure 1. The Framework Used for Organizing Data

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discover the domains of meaning held by actors regarding their policy-related roles and policy-related activities engaged in. For illustration, a partially completed matrix appears in Figure 2.

The taxonomic analysis proceeds from the domain analysis. Such an analysis calls for a search across the items within a domain for patterns and relationships among patterns that enlarge upon the meanings discovered in the domain analysis. Patterns were sought based upon repeated items or linguistic expressions, confirmed similarities, dimensions of contrast, and items subsumable under other more comprehensive items (Spradley, 1979). Some examples taken from the actual analyses of data may serve to clarify the use of these techniques better than further explanation.

The interviews with school district personnel revealed various shared meanings among staff development recipients as a group and among staff development providers as a group that held significance for how policy ingresses through the district organization. This became clear only after the data collected from the interviews was displayed on large sheets by categories of interest.

In response to questions, the recipients of staff development (school-based guidance coordinators, career counselors, and special and gifted education teachers) spoke of their roles as "specially designated representatives" of career, special, and gifted education programs in the schools. Each spoke of the role of program representative as vital to

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Role Matrix of Program Personnel at the School and Division Level

Role Orientations	Responsibilities	Decisions	Expectations	Information Exchange
School Program Personnel Staff Development Recipients				
View themselves as program representatives in the schools Division officials depend upon them to establish programs Division officials are their immediate superiors Staff development provides support. Have little knowledge of the policies. Have considerable freedom in their roles. It is important to: - firmly establish programs - minimize disruption - make procedures go smoothly - gain teacher cooperation.	Gain respect for program from other school personnel Avoid mistakes in program operations. Develop better ways to administer program procedures. Share the better ways with other program personnel. Attend staff development meetings.	Make day-to-day decisions as occasions for decisions arise Make decisions about how: - to administer procedures - to improve procedures - to get teacher cooperation	Establish permanent program Protect distinct features of program. Reserve facilities for program use. Do more with program facilities. Resolve perceived dilemmas.	Receive information from division officials Sources of information: - memos - staff development meetings. Pass information to - students - parents Collect information on students Important to: - keep records current - develop better forms - report to division officials
Division Program Officials Staff Development Providers				
View themselves as program initiators in the division. View themselves as protectors of program interests. Feel they are ahead of policy initiatives. Can argue persuasively for program interests. Know how programs work in schools. Know program personnel. Provide support for personnel through staff development.	Responsibilities seen as actions to: - argue for programs - expand programs - obtain funds - emphasize legal implications - provide staff development	Make many decisions. Decisions are complex. Decisions have long-range implications. Make decisions about: - obtaining funds - policy compliance - program implementation - personnel - staff development.	Programs will be established. Programs will expand. Programs will become more important in the schools. Programs will receive more support from policy.	Pass information among themselves informally. Pass information on to program staff through: - memos - staff development Maintain decision records.

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making the program an "instituted" and "on going" part of the schools. The idea of making the programs a regular part of the schools was expressed in a number of ways. Closely related terms such as "regularize", "routinize", "streamline", and "formalize" were used repeatedly, seemingly in interchangeable ways.

The terms used clearly fell within the cover term, or domain, of "instituting" the programs. They were used in reference to improving the status of the programs within the context of the schools. The terms represent goals or preferred states, desired for the programs. The general end-goal implied is that of firmly establishing the programs within the structure of the school and having them recognized as permanent and important parts of the school.

Upon analysis, it became clear that the terms used to express preferred goal states for the programs possessed additional meanings. In addition to goals, the terms implied the different means for reaching the end-goal perceived by the program representatives. Each of the terms used represents a way of achieving status for the programs thought to be considered peripheral and impermanent by other school personnel, particularly regular classroom teachers. One of these ways is by repeating, over the years, procedures introduced by the programs, making them a regular part of the school schedule. It is important to program representatives that procedures such as administering career inventories, identifying students with disabilities, and testing students for gifted potential become an accepted part of the school schedule, thus "regularized". Should these procedures become in a sense taken for granted by other school personnel, they would be looked upon as part of the overall school routine, thus "routinized".

It was further implied by the program representatives that the procedures they introduced would become integrated into the larger school program if they went smoothly. Thus it is important to "streamline" the administration of the procedures. This means minimizing disruption to the established school routine. Forms for the procedures that are easily administered are considered essential to minimizing disruption. "Formalizing" the program means developing adequate forms for each procedure introduced, enabling them to be administered easily and smoothly.

Program representatives also emphasized the "leeway" and "latitude" they experienced in their roles. These terms were used while recounting anecdotes illustrating the extent of on-the-job discretion they enjoyed. The anecdotes dealt with how they brought about changes in program procedures. Minimizing disruption to the established school routine while introducing these changes was the standard by which the changes were judged to be improvements. The changes included revisions of forms and strategies for gaining the cooperation of other school personnel in instituting program procedures.

The providers of staff development (the district level supervisors and coordinators of the career, special, and gifted programs) also expressed a concern for the status and acceptance of the programs in the schools. They viewed their roles as "protecting program interests", which included a wide range of activities. The most important of these is arguing effectively for program funds and program expansion. Evidence that program procedures are integrated and well received in the schools lends weight to the cases they make. Knowing the operations of the programs in the schools is essential to their cases. To this end it is critical that program

procedures be conducted in much the same way in all the schools of the district.

A particularly important source of information contributing to the district officials' confidence in knowing their programs is the program representatives in the schools. Meeting with these school program representatives in regularly scheduled staff development activities is viewed as a way of "staying in touch" with what is happening in the schools. District supervisors explained that a reason for hiring district coordinators was that the programs had become so large and school representatives so numerous that they were "losing track of the programs". By sharing the responsibility for providing staff development to school representatives between district supervisors and coordinators more school program personnel could meet in relatively small groups, providing opportunities to discuss the operations of the programs.

While the above analysis provides some insight as to the function of policy-induced staff development, it also exposes a discontinuity between the view held by school program representatives that they had considerable discretion in their roles and the requirement expressed by district officials for the standardization of procedures throughout the district. By exploring additional themes surfacing in the data collected, a more comprehensive understanding of the personnel interactions occasioned by staff development was achieved.

As has been noted, school district personnel associated with the policy-related programs have a mutual concern for the acceptance of their programs in the schools. A program procedure is considered by them to have worked well if other school personnel applaud it in some manner. Phrases such as "it worked well" or "it took" express this. Conversely, a

procedure is considered to have worked poorly should it elicit complaints from other school personnel. School program representatives often referred to the challenge they faced to "look for the best way" of designing and introducing a procedure that would avoid complaints, constituting disruption, and gain acceptance, deemed promotional for the program.

In the event that an innovation in a procedure, devised by one school program representative, proved to meet the condition of general acceptance in one school, it then became important to share it with counterpart program representatives in the other schools. Staff development activities are viewed as a vehicle for sharing innovations that worked well. The larger implications of this analysis are dealt with in the presentation of findings of the study.

The Findings of the Study

Through an analysis of the data collected the path of policy was traced from the classrooms of teachers to the district superintendent's desk. As anticipated at the outset of the investigation, the path is largely determined by the interactions of school district personnel. However, the nature of these interactions that facilitate the ingression of policy was unanticipated. Figure 3, accompanied by the following explanation describes the path of policy investigated in the case study site.

The interactions occasioned by policy-induced staff development activities account for one portion of the policy ingression path (middle section of Figure 3). Nevertheless, the focus of the study is not misplaced, for it is along this portion of the path that policy is moved from the district level into the schools and classrooms. Three sets of interactions are apparent at the district-school juncture of the policy

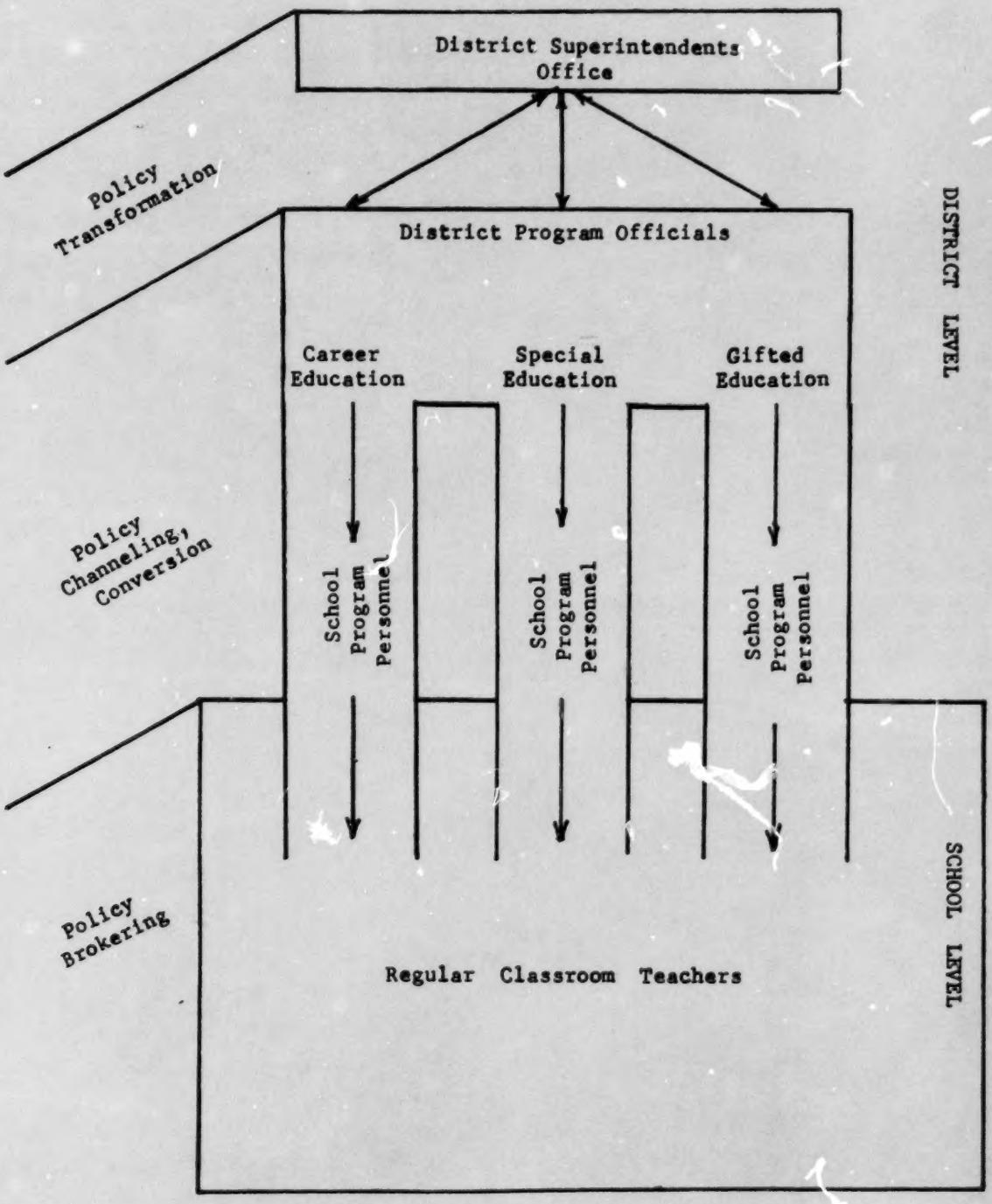

Figure 3. The Path of Policy

path: 1) the interactions between school site program representatives (guidance coordinators, career counselors, and special and gifted education teachers) and district level program officials (district supervisors and coordinators of the career, special, and gifted education programs), 2) the interactions of school program representatives within each policy-related program, and 3) the interactions among district program officials.

The first set of interactions, those between school site program representatives and district level program officials is shaped to a large extent by the later. District level supervisors plan, schedule, and provide staff development activities for the school representatives of their programs exclusively. In this way, policy reaches the schools through the three program channels in a top-down direction. Many of the activities take place in the district's central administration building. Yet, a relationship of mutual dependence and support is established between district level officials and school program representatives within each policy-related program. District officials obtain needed information about program operations in the schools, and the school program representatives receive encouragement to further institute program procedures.

The interactions of the second set, among school program representatives, is dependent on the staff development activities, for it is only through them that representatives meet together. School program representatives are motivated to carry the decisions of district officials into the schools through a number of incentives. Those identified include 1) District level support, 2) Allegiance to respective district officials, 3) The esprit de corps of group membership, 4) A clear objective with which to identify, to gain acceptance and cooperation for the programs from other school personnel, and 5) A sense of autonomy in finding ways to make program procedures work smoothly. While school program representatives

exercise autonomy in promoting the decisions of district officials, their ideas regarding innovations as to how to do this are revealed to district officials when they share them at staff development activities. The practice of sharing ideas allows for a degree of control by district officials. Through the staff development activities, officials have the opportunity to encourage or discourage the innovations suggested by school program representatives, hence, achieving district-wide program standardization.

Intractions of the third set, among district level program officials are informal and based largely on casual exchanges that take place in the halls and offices of the district's central administration building. The exchanges about plans for the programs and the cooperation they indicate cross program lines. The interactions at this level result in transforming career, special, and gifted education policies into procedures, forms, and materials, the ways programs represent the policies in the schools. The staff development activities serve to channel the policies instantiated in procedures, forms, and materials through the designated personnel convened. In this way, policy moves through the created positions and designated personnel at the district and school levels into the school sites.

The creation of new positions associated with career, special, and gifted education policies antedate historically the legislation initiating these policies. A district supervisor of career education was appointed in 1973, two years prior to the enactment at the federal level of the Career Incentive Act, PL 95-207, in 1975, and a state senate bill of the same year. Both a district supervisor and assistant supervisor of special education were appointed in 1972, three years prior to the enactment of PL 94-142, in 1975, and six years before the first state legislation concerning special education. A district supervisor of gifted education

was appointed a year before the federal enactment of the Gifted and Talented Act, PL 95-560, in 1978, and three years prior to the first state legislation concerning gifted education. District level coordinator positions in each of the policy areas were created shortly after the appearance of the federal policies. The creation of school level positions, completing the hierarchical structures of the policy-related programs, closely followed state level legislation.

The path of policy includes two additional sets of interactions involving personnel associated with the policy-related programs. These interactions take place outside the activities of policy-induced staff development. In the schools, the movement of policy depends upon the interactions between school program representatives and regular classroom teachers. The regular classroom teachers become involved in the policy-related programs through various contacts with school program representatives. These contacts, initiated by program representatives, are made informally, usually on a one-to-one basis. The purpose of the contacts is to gain the cooperation of teachers with instituting program procedures and establishing more firmly the policy-related programs in the schools.

The regular classroom teachers respond to the school program representatives and cooperate with them, because they perceive some benefit accruing to them as a result of the policy-related programs. Some of the benefits alluded to by the regular classroom teachers include 1) A degree of heightened student enthusiasm for the content taught by the teachers, e.g. career counselors point out to students the occupational relevancy of courses assigned them, 2) Support from program representatives with problematic students, 3) Placement of additional students in their classes

(a benefit in the event of diminished enrollment), and 4) The opportunity to have some input in the class registration process. Through the exchange of teacher cooperation for the various benefits mentioned, policy is brokered at the classroom level.

It was discovered at the site that regular classroom teachers were generally unaware of the manifestations of policy even though these constituted profound changes in the school environment that directly affected their roles. A few of the changes taken from a long list generated during the investigation include 1) Annexed classrooms and other spaces for exclusive program use, 2) Additional staff positions representing other specialized authorities promulgating directives, 3) New demands made upon school time as a result of additional reporting duties, forms, test administrations, manuals, and specially developed instructional units for incorporation in teacher lesson plans. None of the teachers interviewed mentioned any of these changes stemming from the introduction of the policy-related programs. Teachers appear to have taken in stride the changes in school life identified, suggesting the success of program representatives in routinizing new procedures without disruption.

The other end of the policy path from that of the classroom is revealed through the interactions of district level program officials and district superintendents. Policies governing career, special, and gifted education are sometimes first received at the superintendent level. Policy documents once received at this level are directed to the appropriate division program officials. At the site, superintendents and their office staff indicated that policy documents received are duplicated within the day and sent on.

Frequently, policy and policy changes become known to district program officials prior to the arrival of a formal document. Program supervisors and coordinators receive information from state level personnel with whom they maintain regular contact both by phone and through participation on such bodies as state advisory committees. Another source of information is the Federal Register.

The district supervisors of the policy-related programs review the policy documents and information passed on to them. It is ascertained whether changes or new actions are required over and above what is presently being done through the programs. The supervisors turn to each other and the program coordinators for opinions and suggestions that may inform decisions regarding policy information. Input of this kind is elicited informally through phone calls and discussions.

The role of school principals does not figure significantly in the interactions associated with the policy-related programs. Inquiry as to why revealed that attitudes and perceptions regarding roles accounted for a pattern of policy ingression that circumvented the principal's office. School district officials maintained that the principals were sufficiently burdened with other concerns and duties making additional responsibilities for the policy-related programs "unfair". The principals tended to confirm this contention and felt that the designated program personnel at the district and school level were more qualified than they to "do the job" of implementing the programs. As a result, school program representatives looked to their respective district program supervisors and coordinators as their immediate superiors. These attitudes and perceptions, accounting for the limited role of school principals, were reinforced by the structure of policy-induced staff development, planned and provided, as it is,

exclusively for school program representatives by district program officials.

A Summary of the Findings of the Study

- An infrastructure for policy implementation is in place in advance of federal and state policy initiatives. This infrastructure, made up of created positions and designated school personnel, serves to channel policy into specially designed programs. Since it precedes policy, it has the effect of eliminating administrative and substantive deliberations about what to do with policy and how it might be implemented in the schools.
- Policy is quickly channeled into the school system once it is received at the superintendent level. The infrastructure facilitates the channeling of policy and accounts, somewhat, for why no resistance to policy takes place at this level.
- Policy occasions an elaboration of the administrative structure of the school district. The policies selected for investigation resulted in creating new positions at the district and school levels of the system. These positions, accounting for the infrastructure, make for new links between the district and school levels. These links allow for policy to move into the schools by way of designated school personnel rather than through the established school hierarchy. Thus policy leads to tighter hierarchical connections at the upper administrative levels of the school system while tending to lead to looser connections at the school site level.

- Policy becomes transformed into programs at the district level. These programs are administered by personnel holding the new positions created as part of the policy infrastructure. Once policy received is channeled into the infrastructure it becomes translated into program procedures, forms, and materials. These are generated by program personnel for the maintenance of the policy-related programs in the schools.
- Staff development undertaken, following the creation of new administrative positions, as a secondary response to policy is initiated by program officials exclusively for school program personnel. Staff development provides a means for program officials to administer the policy-related programs. Through participation in staff development, school program representatives receive information about program procedures and share ideas with one another about implementing the procedures in their school sites.
- At the classroom level policy is brokered through negotiated encounters between school program representatives and regular classroom teachers. These encounters are initiated by school program representatives seeking to persuade regular classroom teachers to become familiar with program procedures, to allow time for the procedures in their schedules and lesson plans, and to use the program forms and materials developed in the regular staff development activities.

Conclusion

Mapping the ingression of policy backward through the organization of a school district reveals the form policy manifestations take and the focal actors and their interactions that shape policy manifestations. This could not have been accomplished by following the hierarchical junctures of the established structure of the school district, for the trajectory of policy deviates significantly from that circumscribed route. An analysis of the policy path indicates that policy initiatives yield far more than simple compliance or new programs. They may radically alter the ways a district functions, the role of its key personnel, the relationships among its staff, and the practices of its teachers.

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